

Saigon Premier's Kin Tied to Drug Traffic

By KEYES BEECH
Chicago Daily News Service

SAIGON — South Vietnam's campaign against the drug traffic that has made heroin addicts of thousands of American GIs is threatening to involve none other than Prime Minister Tran Thien Khiem.

Two of Khiem's brothers hold key positions in the government customs service, which enabled them to profit handsomely from the smuggling of drugs and contraband goods into South Vietnam.

One brother, Tran Thien Khoi, was head of the law enforcement division of the customs service at Taw Son Nhut Airport, described by U.S. custom agents as a smugglers' paradise. Khoi was replaced last week in a major shakeup.

Another brother, Tran Thien Phuong, is still on the job as director of Saigon Port, long known as possibly the most corrupt in Southeast Asia. Phuong is in charge of all other ports in South Vietnam in addition to Saigon.

Operating under the protective wing of his brother the prime minister, Khoi was identified by U.S. Army investigators as a key figure in the opium traffic.

A U.S. Army provost marshal report on the drug racket described Khoi in these words: "He has an opium habit that costs approximately 10,000 piasters (about \$40) a day and visits a local opium den on a predictable schedule. He was charged with serious irregularities approximately two years ago but by payoffs and political influence, managed to have the charges dropped.

"When he took up his present

position he was known to be nearly destitute, but is now wealthy and supporting two or three wives."

U.S. customs agents said Khoi blocked their efforts to set up a narcotics squad at the airport to detect incoming drug shipments from Laos, Thailand and Hong Kong though they had the approval of the customs director, Duong Thieu Sinh.

Sinh quit in disgust last week and went back to his job as a judge on South Vietnam's supreme court.

So far as can be determined, none of the corrupt officials has been sacked. Instead, they have been "rotated." Custom inspectors at the airport have traded jobs with those at Saigon port.

Prime Minister Khiem's responsibility in the drug scandal

goes beyond his two brothers. As minister of interior, he controls the country's police, who also are up to their ears in the drug traffic. Some act as pushers.

Brig. Gen. Tran Thanh Phong, the national police chief, is related to Khiem's family by marriage. And a cousin of the prime minister, Col. Tran Thien Thanh, is deputy governor of the capital (Saigon) military district.

U.S. Sees Involvement

(In Washington yesterday John E. Ingersoll, director of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, said officials of various Southeastern Asian governments "very definitely are directly involved" in assisting and protecting the flow of opium from their countries to the United States.

"I think it would be effective if the United States put more pressure on those governments," Ingersoll told the House Select Crime Committee. But he refused to go into detail in the public meeting on proposals he has made for working with those governments to stem the flow of illegal drugs, the Associated Press reported.

(Under intense questioning by Rep. Jerome Waldie, D-Calif., Ingersoll said Gen. Rathikoune Ouane of Laos apparently is directly involved in a large-scale illicit drug operation in that country.

(Even planes owned by Air America, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency-backed airline, have been unwittingly used in the transport of opium in Southeast Asia, Ingersoll said. "And so has Air Vietnam, Air Laos and TWA, as far as that goes.")

C. I. A. Identifies 21 Asian Opium Refineries

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 5—United States intelligence agents have identified at least 21 opium refineries in the border area of Burma, Laos, and Thailand that provide a constant flow of heroin to American troops in South Vietnam.

Operated and protected in Burma and Thailand by insurgent armies and their leaders and in Laos by elements of the royal Laotian armed forces, the refining and distributing have grown until white heroin rated 96 per cent pure is turning up in Pacific coast cities of the United States as well as in Saigon.

The Burma-Laos-Thailand border area, known as the "Golden Triangle," normally accounts for about 700 tons of opium annually, or about half the world's illicit production. Burma is the largest producer in the region, accounting for about 400 tons.

But a recent analysis by the Central Intelligence Agency suggests that production is expanding in the area, and there are indications that this year's output may reach 1,000 tons.

More High-Grade Heroin

The C.I.A. analysis made these major points about recent trends in the illicit narcotics business in Southeast Asia:

Refineries in Laos and Thailand that used to produce only refined opium, morphine base and No. 3, heroin for smoking are now converting most of their opium supplies to No. 4, or 96 per cent pure white heroin. The change "appears to be due to the sudden increase in demand by a large and relatively affluent market in South Vietnam."

"Most of the narcotics buyers in the tri-border area are ethnic Chinese who pool their purchases, but no large syndicate appears to be involved. The opium, morphine base and heroin purchased in this area eventually finds its way to Bangkok, Vientiane and Luang Prabang, where additional processing may take place before delivery to Saigon, Hong Kong and other international markets."

A "considerable quantity" of raw opium and morphine base from northeast Burma and Thailand was smuggled into Bangkok and sent from there to Hong Kong in fishing trawlers from Jan. 1 to May 1. Carrying one to three tons of opium and quantities of morphine base, "one trawler a day moves to the vicinity of the Chinese Communist-controlled Lema Islands—15 miles from Hong Kong—where the goods are loaded into Hong Kong junks."

Opium and derivatives move through Laos and are transferred from the Mekong River refineries by river craft and vehicles to Ban Houei Sai, further downstream on the Mekong in Laos, and are transported from there to Luang Prabang or Vientiane. A considerable portion of the Laotian-produced narcotics is smuggled into Saigon.

"An increased demand for No. 4 heroin also appears to be reflected in the steady rise in the price. For example, in mid-April, 1971, the price in the

Tachilek (Burma) area for a kilo of No. 4 heroin was reported to be \$1,780, as compared with \$1,240 in September, 1970." A kilogram is 2.2 pounds.

"The reported increasing incidence of heroin addiction among U.S. servicemen in Vietnam and recent intelligence indicating that heroin traffic between Southeast Asia and the United States may also be increasing suggest that Southeast Asia is growing in importance as a producer of heroin."

U.S. Policy Criticized

This growth has been aided, according to one Congressional authority, by the lack—until recently—of a firm United States policy on heroin in Southeast Asia. The United States—which provides billions of dollars in military and economic foreign aid to Laos, Thailand and Cambodia—has directed its efforts intercepting the traffic at the Saigon end of the line rather than to stamping out production at the source, Representative Robert H. Steele, Republican of Connecticut, said today.

Mr. Steele is the principal

author of a recent report estimating the numbers of heroin addicts among American servicemen in South Vietnam at 25,000 to 30,000.

"Vietnam unquestionably proves that the availability of narcotics breeds users," he said. "Until we dry up the sources, we haven't got a prayer of combatting the problem."

While much of the opium producing and refining takes place in areas of Burma, Laos and Thailand now controlled by insurgents, narcotics enforcement officials say that a continuous flow of the drugs through government-controlled areas cannot be sustained without the involvement of corrupt officials.

The same view was expressed earlier in the week by John E. Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, in testimony before the House Select Committee on Crime.

He said that middle-level government officials and military men throughout Southeast Asia were deeply involved in the traffic in opium, the product from which morphine and heroin is refined.

Routes and Refineries Named

The analysis by the Central Intelligence Agency pinpointed major areas of cultivation, refineries and routes used in the traffic.

Northeast Burma was identified as the largest producer and processor of raw opium in the border area. The study said that Burma's 14 refineries, located in the Tachilek area, last year converted 30 tons of raw opium into refined opium, morphine base and heroin.

The opium harvested in

Wa and Kokang Area

are put together by the major insurgent leaders in these areas," the C.I.A. study said. "The caravans, which can include up to 600 horses and donkeys and 300 to 400 men, take the opium on the southeasterly journey to the processing plants that lie along the Mekong River in the Tachilek-Mae Sai, Thailand-Ban Houei Sai, Laos area."

The analysis said that caravans carrying more than 10 metric tons have been reported. A recent lot is about 2,200 pounds.

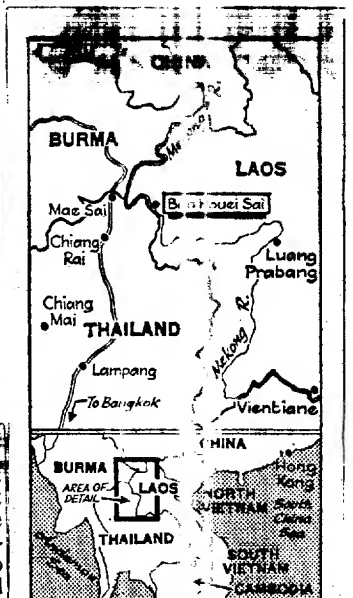
7 Important Refineries

Of the 21 refineries identified in the three countries, seven were described in the report as capable of processing raw opium to the heroin stage. "The most important are located in the areas around Tachilek, Burma; Ban Houei Sai and Nam Keung in Laos, and Mae Salong in Thailand," it said.

"The best known, if not largest of these refineries is the one at Ban Houei Tap, Laos, near Ban Houei Sai, which is believed capable of processing some 100 kilos of raw opium per day," the report said.

The opium and derivatives crossing Thailand from Burma enroute to Bangkok was traced in the paper as moving out of such Northern Thai towns as Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Lampang and Tak by various modes of ground and water transport.

"The opium is packed by the growers and traders to itinerant Chinese merchants who transport it to major collection points, particularly around Lashio and Ken Taw," the study said.



The New York Times June 6, 1971

Opium products from the surrounding area, known as the 'Golden Triangle,' are said to be shipped through Ban Houei Sai.

A Saigon General Named As a Trafficker in Heroin

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 7 — A high-ranking South Vietnamese general was named by a member of Congress before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee today as "one of the chief traffickers in heroin in Southeast Asia."

Gen. Ngo Dzu, commander of the South Vietnamese Army's II Corps, was named by Representative Robert H. Steele, Republican of Connecticut, in

testimony on a proposed amendment to the foreign aid extension bill that would cut off aid to any country failing to deal effectively with illicit opium production and distribution.

Mr. Steele told the subcommittee that since submitting his recent report on illicit heroin trafficking and addiction of United States servicemen in Southeast Asia, "I have learned that South Vietnamese military officers continue to deal in large quantities of heroin and to transport it around South Vietnam in military aircraft and vehicles."

[When Mr. Steele testified in Washington, it was already night in South Vietnam, and it was not possible to obtain comment from General Dzu, who was in Pleiku in the area of his command, Military Region II in the Central Highlands.]

"U.S. military authorities have provided Ambassador [Ellsworth] Bunker with hard intelligence that one of the chief traffickers is Gen. Ngo Dzu, the

Continued on Page 15, Column 1

commander of II Corps," he said. "Dzu is one of the staunchest military backers of President Thieu and one of the leading strongmen in the current Saigon Government."

Mr. Steele said that Gen. Ouane Rathikoune, Chief of the Laotian General Staff, was also "reportedly deeply involved in the heroin traffic." He said General Ouane's troops protected opium and heroin refineries along the Mekong River and also transported heroin on Laotian military aircraft.

Action Taken Against Peddlers

In Saigon, Mr. Steele said, "The Government cracked down on street peddlers at our insistence and that was easy."

"They have started to crack down on their customs people and it's had some effect," he went on. "But now we come to the top strongman—a general in South Vietnam—and I wonder just how serious the Government will be about its crackdown."

"I don't say put him before a firing squad, but he must be stopped."

The 32-year-old Mr. Steele, a former agent of the Central Intelligence Agency, estimated in his Congressional study report in May that 10 to 15 per cent of the American servicemen in Indochina had become addicted to heroin. The report was based on investigations he made in the area with Representative Morgan T. Murphy, Democrat of Illinois.

In Vietnam, Mr. Steele talked with the highest civil and military authorities of the United States and South Vietnam. He has kept in touch with many of the 50 officials, including Ambassador Bunker, who were mentioned in the appendix of his report and last night was in touch with several of them in Saigon by telephone.

Testimony by Mitchell

Mr. Steele's statements paralleled testimony by Attorney General John W. Mitchell today before a Senate joint subcommittee that the United States had identified a number of Southeast Asian leaders involved in illegal drug traffic and was prepared to use its full authority "and other means of persuasion" to end their participation in government as well as in narcotics trafficking.

Under questioning by Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat of Maine, Mr. Mitchell said that his panel had identified leaders in Burma, Laos and

Thailand as well as South Vietnam were deeply involved in drug traffic.

The Attorney General said he could not identify any of the political or military leaders except in a closed session of the subcommittee, but he declared: "We feel we have identified some of them and have taken initiatives in some of the countries to eliminate their participation."

"You feel you will be able to eliminate their participation both in the drug traffic and in government?" Senator Muskie asked.

"We anticipate we will be able to do this to the extent that our country has jurisdiction or other means of persuasion," the Attorney General replied.

Two subcommittees of the Senate Committee on Government Operations sat as a joint panel to hear testimony from Mr. Mitchell, Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and David Packard, Deputy Secretary of Defense, on President Nixon's plan to create a new special action office in the White House for the prevention of drug abuse.

In response to questions by Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democrat of Connecticut, Mr. Packard said the Pentagon was prepared to grant retroactive amnesty—on a case by case basis—to servicemen "discharged under less than honorable circumstances because of drug abuse."

Mr. Packard read the panel a policy memorandum sent today to all service secretaries directing that "evidence developed by, or as a direct re-

sult of urinalysis administered for the purpose of identifying drug abusers may not be used in any disciplinary action under the Uniform Code of Military Justice or as a basis for supporting an administrative discharge under less than favorable circumstances."

It is only "fair and equitable" that former addicts in the military forces be given the same chance as present servicemen to earn a clean record and an honorable discharge, the Deputy Secretary said.

Amnesty Program Criticized

The military amnesty program for addicts has been criticized in and out of Congress because some servicemen who turned themselves in for treatment have been subjected to disciplinary or punitive measures.

Servicemen found to have been involved in selling narcotics or in other criminal activities are specifically ex-

cluded from the retroactive amnesty, Mr. Packard explained.

The core of the Administration's case for the President's \$155-million special action program was that the war against narcotics addiction cannot succeed until the Federal Government brings all its resources to bear through a new office in the White House. Its three spokesmen said the effort now was fragmented among nine Federal bureaus and agencies and was not being carried out.

Senator Ribicoff conceded that the changes planned under the President's coordination plan were good "as far as it goes."

"But I believe we will need much more than a new box on an organization chart," the Connecticut Senator said. "It begins to look as though when we don't know what else to do and we want to create the illusion of action and concern,

we create a new unit in the White House and assign it the task of coordinating some unknown solution to the problem."

As co-chairman of the joint panel, Senator Ribicoff asked the Administration officials: "What do you believe are the causes of the drug abuses crisis in the nation?"

Attorney General Mitchell said he was not qualified to answer fully but suggested that the causes included "despondency, psychiatric reliance and the fact that many young people find it socially to join others in these activities."

After extensive discussion, the only point on which the committee members and administration spokesmen appeared to be fully agreed was the accuracy of President Nixon's assertion in a recent message to Congress that mounting narcotics addiction was a national emergency.



Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu

June 23, 1971

cial aid to the needy, supporting numerous charities, and standing by the new arrivals in times of stress and tragedy. They did everything from help in birthing the living to burying the dead. This work continues today in a glittering example of an ongoing social brotherhood. Such organizations are classic examples of why Americans of Jewish faith have made such significant contributions on all levels of American life.

In recent years, the society has expanded its horizon, outlook, and activities, reaching many who would never have benefited otherwise. It is concerned with the general welfare of the surrounding community, regardless of who belongs or lives there. Its donations and good works on behalf of all the people of New York are well known, respected, and eagerly sought.

This year it celebrates its 50th anniversary. A special day was set aside in its honor by the president of the Borough of Brooklyn. I join in congratulating the First Wloszczow Society of that occasion. Long may they prosper and continue their good works among us.

LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1970

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 23, 1971

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, last year after considerable debate the House of Representatives voted to include in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 a provision to allow the minority side proper committee staffing. At that time, every Member of this body had an opportunity to decide the question and vote according to the dictates of his own conscience, keeping in mind the general good of the whole House, then, in direct contrast to the will of the "majority"—and I use that term in its generic sense without reference to partisanship—the Democratic caucus in January of this year decided arbitrarily to overturn that vote and bound its members to follow the will of its leadership. With the introduction of the "minority staffing" resolution, the House now has an opportunity to right this grievous wrong in the spirit of fairness and return to the minority side the protection it deserves and needs with the assurance of adequate committee staffing. The very foundation of this body in which we serve is the realization that there are two sides to every question, and I believe it is this willingness to get at both sides of the question and seek the best possible answer for all concerned that has made our country the great Nation it is today. In order to protect the rights of the minority and afford it ample access to the services of professionals who share the views of the minority, we have no other recourse but to pass this resolution.

"PROGRAMS FOR PEACEFUL COMMUNICATIONS"—A PROGRESS REPORT FROM THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 22, 1971

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in 1969, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs amended the Foreign Assistance Act authorizing the President to use technical assistance funds to carry out "programs of peaceful communications" which make use of television and related technologies, including satellite transmissions, for educational, health, agricultural, and community development purposes in the less-developed countries.

This provision of the foreign aid legislation in section 220, programs for peaceful communication.

It resulted from a series of hearings held earlier by the Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Those hearings, which I chaired, demonstrated the need for increased U.S. attention to, and assistance for, programs which harness the new electronic media to solving the problems of development by use of effective modern communication.

During the 2 years that section 220 has been in the foreign aid bill, the Agency for International Development—responding positively to this congressional initiative—has increasingly concentrated its attention in this field.

In order to document this increased program support I recently asked the Agency to prepare a detailed report of its activities in pursuit of the objectives set forth by section 220.

It has now responded with a report which indicates that AID's activities in the area of communications technology are expected to grow from \$4.5 million in fiscal year 1970 to as much as \$13.7 million in fiscal year 1971.

Further, there is the expectation that AID will continue to make this an area of emphasis within its Technical Assistance Bureau.

Because of the importance of these communications-related programs to the cause of worldwide economic development, I am placing the AID report and a letter of transmittal in the RECORD at this point and urge the attention of my colleagues to them:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL

DEVELOPMENT,

Washington, D.C., March 30, 1971.

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
Chairman, Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments,
Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Per Mr. Bernstein's letter of January 29, 1971 enclosed is a status report of completed or proposed actions relative to Section 220 of the Foreign Assistance

Act since April, 1970. Also enclosed are data on actual project obligations for FY 1970 and estimated obligations during FY 1971.

Within existing limitations, we are hopeful that A.I.D. assistance to communications technology activities may increase from 14 projects totalling \$4.5 million in FY 1970 to as high as 24 projects totalling \$13.7 million in FY 1971. This is a substantial increase in A.I.D.'s communications technology program.

We are encouraged that the operational projects being tested seem to be moving well. For example, in El Salvador schools television is reaching 11,000 students in the seventh and eighth grades and will reach 50,000 by January, 1972. This will be a large enough number to test cost/effectiveness of this type of activity.

Your committee has been interested in A.I.D. establishing centers for concentrated attention to the uses of communications technology in developing countries. We are doing so. FY 1971 funding provides for one center which will be concerned with a broader approach to uses of educational technology in the developing countries. FY 1971 funds have already been allocated to help establish a center in Hawaii. These centers will stress a systems approach and are important in providing trained and skilled personnel from the United States and developing countries to work on communications technology overseas.

In another effort to bring top quality private talent to bear on communications technology in development, A.I.D. has contracted with the Academy for Educational Development to help improve strategies for carrying out both research and action programs and to recommend new applications for such technology. As the report reveals, communications technology work is on the rise along in the education field. During FY 1971, it is expanding in family planning work and greater attention will be given to its potential in agricultural development in FY 1972.

We appreciate the support which your subcommittee has given to A.I.D. in programs for peaceful communications and assure you that we will continue to press forward with the program.

Sincerely yours,
MATTHEW J. HARVEY,
Director, Congressional Liaison Staff.

REPORT ON PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING SECTION 220 FAA—AUTHORIZING PROGRAMS FOR PEACEFUL COMMUNICATIONS

I. SUMMARY

Section 220 of the Foreign Assistance Act authorizes funds for programs of peaceful communications which make use of television and related technologies, including satellite transmissions, for educational, health, agricultural and community development purposes in the less developed countries (LDCs). A.I.D. is directed to assist the developing countries with research, training, planning assistance and project support in the use of television and related technologies, including satellite transmissions. (See Appendix for full text of Section 220.)

As noted in last year's report to the Congress, A.I.D. believes that communications technology has significant potential for development when effectively applied on a sufficient scale and for an adequate period as a system, not just as an engineering technology or as a supplement to standard educational efforts. By "system" we mean the systematic development and application of concepts, plans, equipment (hardware), instructional materials (software), management and evaluation of results. The system must take account of social, economic and

June 23, 1971

THE NIXON SYNDROME

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 23, 1971

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, in last Friday's Washington Post, there appeared an enlightening article written by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak concerning the real story of the discovery of massive heroin addiction among American troops in South Vietnam. Pointing out how a freshman Congressman was the person to bring this tragedy to the public, the article further explains how the Nixon administration minimized the impact of Representative ROBERT STEELE's revelation. A copy of the article follows:

THE NIXON SYNDROME

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

When a young freshman Republican congressman returned from Vietnam in mid-April with a horrifying story of massive heroin addiction among American troops, he was met by icy irritation from the White House—thereby underlining a political failure that has always bedeviled the Nixon administration.

In fact, the new anti-heroin program unveiled at the White House yesterday stemmed directly from revelations of Rep. Robert Steele of Connecticut. But before that happy point was reached, the 32-year-old first-term, a Republican moderate, was subjected to the same old mode of operations by President Nixon's staff that has disheartened so many Republican politicians. Steele's experience is a case study of the Nixon syndrome: the isolation of the President, the arrogance of much of his staff, the White House fetish for secrecy, and the administration's inexplicable refusal to put its best foot forward.

Actually, the Nixon administration has been vigorously working on the drug problem for two and one-half years under the guidance of John Ehrlichman's domestic policy staff at the White House. But nothing much was getting through to the increasingly anxious public or Congress, thanks to the secrecy mania and the Teutonic fastidiousness of the Ehrlichman staff.

Moreover, the White House had been sitting on a secret certain to sicken the American public: beginning in December, 1969, heroin addiction among American troops in Vietnam steadily rose toward epidemic proportions. Typically, instead of putting this problem before the public the White House tried to cover it up.

So pervasive was the heroin traffic among Vietnam GIs, however, that some journalist or visiting congressman was bound to be hit in the face with it. That was precisely what happened when ex-CIA agent Steele and another first-year congressman, 39-year-old Chicago Democrat Morgan Murphy, visited Vietnam. They returned to Washington convinced that the profusion of cheap high-grade heroin in Vietnam was magnifying the national drug crisis in a truly terrifying way.

Even then, the White House could have recouped. Steele, a loyal Republican was not about to attack his own President. Mr. Nixon could have extolled the energy and initiative of a freshman congressman and, in the process, given the impression of forceful prosecution of the problem.

But he did no such thing. At this writing, the President has not even conferred with Steele. Nor has Ehrlichman. Instead, the congressman was shunted off to two young members of Ehrlichman's staff: Egli (Bud) Krogh

Jr., 31, Ehrlichman's deputy, and Jeffrey Donfeld, 28, a specialist on drug problems.

Krogh and Donfeld greeted Steele's revelations with a posture of boredom and indifference, the hauteur that has made the Ehrlichman staff unloved on Capitol Hill. Donfeld, in particular, confronted Steele in a mood of now, now, my boy, we don't need your advice.

Furthermore, Mr. Nixon tried to minimize the impact of Steele's revelations. At his press conference June 2, the President suggested addition of Vietnam troops was merely part of the national drug problem—ignoring this harsh fact inherent in Steele's report: soldiers returning home as heroin addicts would never have been introduced to the drug had they not gone to Vietnam.

Both this position by the President and the coolness of his staff toward Steele stem from their awareness that the Vietnam heroin story provides powerful propaganda to the antiwar campaign for a precipitous troop pullout from Vietnam and further undermines diminished faith in the nation's armed services. To cope with this, the White House characteristically pretended it did not exist.

Beyond this, staffers Krogh and Donfeld, having worked night and day on the drug problem, were genuinely irritated by a very junior congressman who had become a 24-hour expert. In so doing, they again betrayed the exasperation of the White House with the legislative branch and its dim realization that Congress exists as a coordinate branch of government.

Within the last few weeks, more politically experienced presidential aides (including counselor Donald Rumsfeld, an ex-congressman) stepped in to take a more conciliatory position with Steel. As a result, Steele, though still chilled by his treatment at the White House, has nothing but praise publicly for the President and his comprehensive new program announced yesterday. But in the Republican cloakroom, the real story is well known and once again betrays to all how shockingly little the White House has learned about the trade of politics.

OPEN DATING

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 23, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, a recent survey by the Consumer Federation of America showed widespread sale of overage infant formula by grocery and drugstores in 5 States.

Fifty-seven percent of the stores were selling formula that was more than 18 months old, the maximum shelf life according to industry and medical sources, the CFA reported.

In most cases, consumers were unable to tell the age of the product. Those few that did have expiration dates frequently had them obscured by price stickers or blurred.

This experience points up the need for specific legislative action to protect consumers from the problems of overage and possibly unwholesome foods. It also is further evidence of the need for prompt action on my bill, H.R. 8438, the "Open Dating" bill, which would require that expiration dates be clearly stated on all packaged perishable and semiperishable foods.

I am inserting in the RECORD at this point a news clipping about the CFA survey on infant formula:

[From The Washington Post,
Friday, June 11, 1971]

INFANT FORMULA

The Consumer Federation of America charged yesterday that a spot-check of grocery and drug stores in five states indicated that 57 per cent of the stores are selling infant formula more than 18 months old.

Eighteen months, CFA said, is the "maximum accepted shelf-life established by various companies and the people we have contacted in the medical profession."

The Food and Marketing Committee of the CFA surveyed 110 stores during April and May in Arizona, California, Illinois, Louisiana and Oregon. A similar survey was conducted in Virginia last January which prompted the nationwide check. CFA said large amounts of outdated formula were being sold in Virginia.

The survey revealed evidence of leaking cans, price stickers pasted over expiration dates, and blurred or missing dates and markings, asserted Erma Angevine, CFA executive director.

CFA requested that leading manufacturers—Gerber Products (Modilac), Mead Johnson (Enfamil), Pfizer (Baker's), Borden (Bremil), Ross (Similac)—immediately recall all stale formula, advise retailers of the necessity to make regular and frequent checks of supplies, and begin printing the shelf expiration or manufacturing data clearly on all containers.

CFA urged the Food and Drug Administration to oversee removal of old formula from the market and to set and enforce freshness standards promptly.

A TRULY GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 23, 1971

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, not a day passes without some tribute being paid to our immigrant heritage. Most Americans, however, rarely take the trouble to ascertain more about the roots and reality of that heritage.

It comes from many places in the old country, and nowhere is it better represented than in the city of New York and my own Borough of Brooklyn. As the immigrants arrived here, more often than not penniless, helpless, and unable to speak English, they relied on the ideals and institutions they were able to uproot and bring with them.

Often these took the form of small societies, based upon what region or town some of these new arrivals hailed from in the old country. Based on religious and communal ties, many of these societies have written glowing chapters in American city life. Such an outstanding group is the First Wloszczower Society, Inc.

This Hebrew association is nonprofit and was formed in New York on March 12, 1921. It shortly began to act as a welcoming and adjustment group for newly arrived immigrants, who so often in the following years came as victims of the worst kind of persecution. Innumerable American citizens today made their first difficult transition from immigrant to useful citizen because of this society.

The First Wloszczower Society acted as a social brotherhood, extending finan-

Drugs

DATE Feb 77 PAGE 2

House Panel Votes Aid Cut For Nations in Drug Traffic

By SHIRLEY ELDER
Star Staff Writer

The House Foreign Affairs Committee has voted to cut off military and economic aid to any nation, including South Vietnam, that fails to curb drug traffic to the United States.

The action yesterday came only a day after Nixon administration officials told a Senate subcommittee that a number of Southeast Asian leaders are personally involved in drug operations.

As the officials, led by Attorney General John Mitchell, testified in the Senate, Rep. Robert H. Steele, R-Conn., went a step further. He named names.

Steele, one of the first to bring the growing problem of GI drug addiction to the public, said South Vietnamese Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu, commander of the II Corps region, is "one of the chief traffickers in heroin in Southeast Asia."

In Saigon, Dzu yesterday denied the charge "completely."

In an interview with the Associated Press Dzu accused "personal enemies" of distributing

anonymous letters three months ago accusing him of corruption and said he believes they are responsible for the latest charge.

The general said he and his senior American adviser, John Paul Vann, were waging a "very big" campaign against narcotics in his region "and we got very nice results since two months. Yesterday we captured in Pleiku more than 200 kilos of marijuana, and I gave large rewards to the men who captured that."

Also "deeply involved" with heroin, Steele said, is Gen. Quane Rathikoume, chief of the Laotian general staff.

(Last month, in a story from Vientiane, Laos. The Star's correspondent Tammy Arbuckle noted that Gen. Quane had been named as a participant in the opium trade by John Ingersoll, chief of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

(Arbuckle reported that Quane "could not very well avoid being involved even if he wanted to... As military commander he

needs full military power. If another officer ran the opium business, then that officer would become rich and would be able to buy the allegiance of royal forces in Northern Laos, leading to anarchy in the Royal Army.")

In the wake of Rep. Steele's charges, Rep. William R. Anderson, D-Tenn., renewed his demand that President Nixon remove the U.S. Ambassador in Saigon, Ellsworth Bunker.

"I make this statement with no sense of joy," Anderson told the House. "General Dzu cannot be alone in this corrupt operation. Others high in the Saigon government are bound to be involved..."

"Ambassador Bunker is an honorable and dedicated American. But he is well up in years. He is not on top of the situation in Vietnam, much less in tune with the conditions of the country he represents."

Although the House tends to be more hawkish on the war than the Senate is, antiwar sentiment has been growing in recent months and concern over GI drug addiction is widespread.

Chances for a favorable vote in the full House on the foreign affairs antidrug amendment, therefore, appear good.

The amendment was offered by Rep. John S. Monagan, D-Conn., as a rider to the 1971 Foreign Assistance Act. It was approved by the full committee unanimously on a voice vote.

Specifically, the amendment directs the President to withhold aid to any country that fails to take adequate steps to prevent narcotic drugs from entering the United States.

Suspension of aid would not be automatic. The President would have to make a formal determination that the particular foreign country is not cooperating. The ban also would extend to the foreign military sales and agricultural trade laws.

July 14, 1971

fact on the priority of expenditures and that he is well informed concerning performance against budget and plans in the program areas.

Thirdly, I would standardize and make more effective our activities in data processing, management research, auditing, and procurement.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, these are worthy objectives, and so long as they are not viewed as ends but are viewed as means to achieve the missions of the Department, their implementation can improve the efficiency and the responsiveness of the Department.

Mr. President, I urge that the Senate confirm Mr. Bodman to be Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Budget and Management.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of this nomination.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

THE HEROIN WAR IN INDOCHINA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Now, Mr. President, in this morning's Washington Post there is published an article entitled "Facts Surface on the Heroin War," written by Miss Flora Lewis. We all know and applaud what our Government has done in trying to bring about a decrease in the production of opium in Turkey; but I would hope that we would not lose sight of the fact that approximately nine-tenths of opium production in the world comes from the so-called Golden Corridor in Laos, Thailand, and Burma.

We have talked a good deal about the casualties of our men—and they are huge. We have talked a good deal about the costs of the war—and they are great. But only recently have we been discussing the question of drugs as they affect American personnel in Indochina and, incidentally, involve local dignitaries in many of the countries concerned.

If I may take an excerpt on two from the article written by Miss Lewis—which I hope every Member of Congress will read as well as the administration downtown—she brings out the fact that the CIA has provided Congress with a report naming the sites of the heroin refineries in Burma, Thailand, and Laos. There is more to it. It will go in with the full story.

I read as follows:

The report also confirms for the first time on the record that Laotian air force planes and Laotian and South Vietnamese commercial planes take the drugs on to markets, both the GI market in South Vietnam and international centers which ship to Europe and the United States. It does not mention Air America, the CIA-operated airline in Laos and Vietnam. But there have

long been numerous reports that Air America's secret flights supporting the Laotian war also often transport opium.

Further on,

Vice Adm. William C. Mack, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, has testified that the only thing that "will save our men" from the tremendous drug problem in Vietnam is troop withdrawal. But the supply routes are organized now. The high-ranking officials, and by no means all the highest have as yet been named, still have U.S. support and every prospect that support will continue after most troops have gone. So the heroin can be expected to follow the GIs home, a continuing souvenir of the war.

Two developments have begun to bring into the open the relation of heroin and the war. One is the huge increase in GI use in the past two years, while the military were assiduously fighting marijuana and virtually ignoring the opium-heroin trade. The other is counting public revulsion as each piece of news appears here.

And, further on,

It is time, late but not too late, for American intelligence which does know quite a lot about the drug traffic to make it their concern. It is time to stop defoliating Vietnamese fields and start defoliating poppy fields. It is time to stop subsidizing high Asian officials who use American support to deal in drugs with impunity.

John Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics, has written Congress that "It is probable that opium production in Southeast Asia will be brought under effective control only with further political development in these countries."

If that means that the United States can't successfully fight heroin and Vietnamese Communists at the same time because too many allies are on the side of heroin, it shouldn't be hard to choose the worst enemy. There can be no national defense even on this continent if the invasion of drugs is not stopped.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this very worthy article printed in full in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACTS SURFACE ON THE HEROIN WAR (By Flora Lewis)

At last the facts of the heroin war in Indochina are trickling out. Many officials, and others, have been aware of them for a long time. But the officials weren't very interested, and secrecy about the war in Laos and American clandestine operations made it extra hard for others' to pinpoint the route of heroin from the mountaintop poppy fields of Southeast Asia to American bloodstreams.

The CIA, which has prime responsibility for the Laotian war, long denied any knowledge of the drug traffic. Now it has provided Congress, through the Bureau of Narcotics, with a report naming the sites of heroin refineries in Burma, Thailand and Laos. Further, the public report says that "a senior Laotian officer may hold an ownership interest in some of these facilities." The officer, named elsewhere, is Gen. Ouane Rathikone, chief of staff of the Laotian army, which exists entirely on U.S. subsidy. Army units provide a "military defense perimeter" to guard the refineries.

The report also confirms for the first time on the record that Laotian air force planes and Laotian and South Vietnamese commercial planes take the drugs on to markets, both the GI market in South Vietnam and international centers which ship to Europe and the United States. It does not mention

Air America, the CIA-operated airline in Laos and Vietnam. But there have long been numerous reports that Air America's secret flights supporting the Laotian war also often transport opium.

Rep. Robert Steele of Connecticut, an ex-CIA man himself, has named Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu who commands South Vietnam's Second Military region as one large-scale organizer of the traffic.

The opium, from which heroin is refined, is grown chiefly by Meo tribesmen who live in what is called the "golden triangle" area of western Burma, northern Thailand and Laos. The CIA organized the Meo of Laos into the Arnee Clandestine and has accepted responsibility for large numbers of them.

Although it normally denied having any awareness or interest in the drug trade, from time to time the CIA claimed progress in persuading the Meo under its influence to switch to food crops. Its own report now says that "in areas (in Laos) where the tribesmen have been encouraged to grow corn, the poppies are planted among the corn. When the corn is cut the poppies continue to grow until they too can be harvested."

Vice Adm. William C. Mack, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, has testified that the only thing that "will save our men" from the tremendous drug problem in Vietnam is troop withdrawal. But the supply routes are organized now. The high-ranking officials, and by no means all the highest have as yet been named, still have U.S. support and every prospect that support will continue after most troops have gone. So the heroin can be expected to follow the GIs home, a continuing souvenir of the war.

Two developments have begun to bring into the open the relation of heroin and the war. One is the huge increase in GI use in the past two years, while the military were assiduously fighting marijuana and virtually ignoring the opium-heroin trade. The other is mounting public revulsion as each piece of news appears here.

But the situation isn't very new. Capt. Robert Marasco, the former Green Beret who was accused of killing a double agent, tells of camping on the Cambodian border in the Parrot's Beak sector in 1969. "There was a big market field there; people went back and forth as though there were no border. The price of heroin was astonishing; for \$25 you could get what sells for \$500,000 in the United States," he told me. "It was being bought by South Vietnamese soldiers, obviously flunkies for the higher-ups."

On another occasion, he trailed 30 pounds of pure opium brought down the Ho Chi Minh Trail by Pathet Lao Communists along with medical supplies and found they were sold to South Vietnamese military and sent on to Saigon. "I didn't pay much attention," Marasco says "that wasn't our concern."

It is time, late but not too late, for American intelligence which does know quite a lot about the drug traffic to make it their concern. It is time to stop defoliating Vietnamese fields and start defoliating poppy fields. It is time to stop subsidizing high Asian officials who use American support to deal in drugs with impunity.

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July 14, 1971

aration for subsequent prototype construction;

(h) the term "prototype" means a full-size, first-of-a-kind production plant used for the development, study, and demonstration of full-sized technology, plant operation, and process economics.

Sec. 10. (a) There is authorized to be appropriated to carry out the provisions of this Act during fiscal year 1972, the sum of \$27,025,000, to remain available until expended, as follows:

(1) Research expense, not more than \$5,475,000;

(2) Development expense, not more than \$10,200,000;

(3) Design, construction, acquisition, modification, operation, and maintenance of saline water conversion test beds and test facilities, not more than \$7,385,000;

(4) Design, construction, acquisition, modification, operation, and maintenance of saline water conversion modules, not more than \$1,425,000; and

(5) Administration and coordination, not more than \$2,540,000.

Expenditures and obligations under paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4) of this subsection may be increased by not more than 10 per centum, and expenditures and obligations under paragraph (5) may be increased by not more than 2 per centum, if any such increase under any paragraph is accompanied by an equal decrease in expenditures and obligations under one or more of the other paragraphs.

(b) There are authorized to be appropriated such sums, to remain available until expended, as may be specified in annual appropriation authorization Acts to carry out the provisions of this Act during the fiscal years 1973 to 1977, inclusive, and to finance, for not more than three years beyond the end of said period, such grants, contracts, cooperative agreements, and studies as may theretofore have been undertaken pursuant to this Act and such activities as are required to correlate, coordinate, and round out the results of studies and research undertaken pursuant to this Act.

(c) Not more than 2 per centum of the funds to be made available in any fiscal year for research under the authority of this Act may be expended, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State to assure that such activities are consistent with the foreign policy objectives of the United States, in cooperation with public or private agencies in foreign countries for research useful to the program in the United States.

Sec. 11. The Act of July 3, 1952 (66 Stat. 328), as amended, is repealed.

And amend the title so as to read: "An act to expand and extend the desalting program being conducted by the Secretary of the Interior, and for other purposes."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the purpose of this measure is to redirect and extend the Federal research and development program in desalting technology. The bill passed the Senate with amendments on June 28. The House further amended the bill by substituting the text of H.R. 9093, a similar bill passed by the House on July 8, 1971.

Although it is somewhat different in format and in the wording of some provisions, the House version is not different in substance from the Senate bill. There are, however, two areas which require further amendments. The first involves three technical amendments to section 8 of the House bill which are necessary to retain the original intent of references to other sections of the bill. The second involves two amendments to provisions concerning the relationship of

the saline water conversion program to the advanced waste treatment program of the Environmental Protection Agency. These amendments are necessary to preserve the substance of the agreement between the Interior Committee and the Public Works Committee which was discussed prior to Senate passage of the bill on June 28.

Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House with amendments, which I send to the desk and ask that they be stated and considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendments will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

1. On page 9, line 2, delete the phrase "section 2" and insert instead "section 3".

2. On page 9, line 5, delete the phrase "subsection (a) of this section" and insert instead "subsection 10(b) of this Act."

3. On page 9, line 7, delete the phrase "subsection 2(e) and section 3" and insert instead "subsection 3(e) and section 4".

4. On page 7, amend subsection 6(b) to read as follows: "(b) The Secretary will cooperate with the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to insure that research and development work performed under this Act makes the fullest possible contribution to the improvement of processes and techniques for the treatment of saline and other chemically contaminated waters and to avoid the duplication of the experience, expertise, and data regarding desalting technologies which have been acquired in the performance of the Saline Water Conversion Act."

5. On page 9, amend subsection 9(c) to read as follows: "(c) the term 'other chemically contaminated water, refers to waters which contain' chemicals susceptible to removal by desalting processes."

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House to the title of the bill.

The motion was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider a nomination on the executive calendar, under new report.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nomination on the executive calendar will be stated.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Richard Stockwell Bodman, of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I wish to say a few words in support of Mr. Richard S. Bodman's nomination to be Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Budget and Management.

Mr. Bodman is a young man for such a position of high responsibility, but his experience in accounting, management, and management consulting will permit

him to bring to this position the vigor and innovativeness of youth, tempered by experience. Secretary Morton believes he will and has already made valuable contributions to the Department of the Interior, and, provided Mr. Bodman maintains a balanced approach and acquires an understanding and appreciation for the achievement of the missions Congress has assigned to the Department, it would appear that he has the background, ability, and intelligence to assist materially in the successful accomplishment of the missions of the Department.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Bodman's biography be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the biography was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

BIOGRAPHY OF RICHARD S. BODMAN

Richard S. Bodman, 33, of San Francisco was appointed Assistant Secretary for Administration by Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton, with the consent of the President, April 1, 1971. Mr. Bodman has been nominated by the President for the position of an Assistant Secretary of the Interior whose duties will include, among others, those of the present Assistant Secretary for Administration.

A certified public accountant, he was formerly a partner in Touche Ross and Company, one of the largest international accounting and consulting firms. He has been directing the firm's consulting practice in San Francisco and Hawaii for the past six years. Additionally, he served as Chairman of the firm's Committee for all Services to Banks, Chairman of the Management Services Long Range Planning Committee, and was a member of the Management Services Executive Committee governing the firm's nationwide management services practices.

A native of Detroit, Michigan, but a resident of San Francisco for the last ten years, Mr. Bodman is past Chairman of the San Francisco Chapter of the Management Services Committee of the California Society of Certified Public Accountants; past President of the Planning Executives Institute's San Francisco Chapter; and was a member of the National Panel of Arbitrators, American Arbitration Association. His background includes managing a wide variety of business and government administration projects, especially with large financial institutions.

He holds a BS degree in engineering from Princeton University and an MS degree in industrial management from M.I.T.

He is married to the former Helene Dunn and they have two sons, Taylor, 9, and James, 8.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, in his prepared statement to the Senate Interior Committee, Mr. Bodman proposed three objectives for himself. I believe these objectives would be of interest to Senators, and I ask unanimous consent that an excerpt of his statement containing these objectives be printed in the Record at this point:

There being no objection, the objectives were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

I would initiate a program to further long-term excellence in management of the Department's affairs by placing highly qualified and motivated people into responsible positions. In this regard I would strive to develop improved methods for identifying talented people early in their careers and developing their management expertise.

Secondly, I would institute improved budgetary policies and reporting procedures to assure that the Secretary has direct im-

ALL VETERANS DO NOT CARRY LABELS

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the Philadelphia Inquirer of July 13 contains remarks made by Mr. Dom Domingos, a Vietnam veteran, on the NBC-TV program "Comment."

While Mr. Domingos' words speak eloquently for themselves, I would like to make the following point.

In our effort to rectify and halt reported abuses and atrocities committed by a few of our servicemen in Vietnam or, indeed, in our desire to aid those who have fallen victim to harmful drugs, let us not summarily characterize all Vietnam veterans. I hope that we all, whatever our views on this war, will make a conscious effort not to create an atmosphere that makes it impossible for our Vietnam veterans to return to a normal life in the United States. We should always bear foremost in our minds that our Vietnam veterans, whatever their views on the war, have all made a considerable personal sacrifice on their Nation's mission.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of Mr. Domingos' statement be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT: ALL VETERANS DO NOT CARRY LABELS

(By Dom Domingos)

The following remarks were made by Mr. Domingos, a Vietnam veteran, on the NBC-TV Program, "Comment" recently:

As a disabled veteran I find it very disturbing that there are those in America who would seek to "lump together," polarize, prejudice and automatically slot us Vietnam veterans as being either for or against the war; as being pot-heads or racists; as being flag-wavers of super-patriots; or as being trained assassins unable to adjust to civilian life.

These attempts have become evident to me just by reading the newspaper, observing mass media coverage, or watching the so-called "talk shows" displaying the "typical Vietnam veteran."

I am a veteran of a war which I feel at the present time no man can accurately predict as to what the last deadly entry in the log will be. A war which by its very nature confronts our fighting servicemen with complexities and pressures never before faced. A war which by its very nature sets its veterans apart and does not lend itself to the camaraderie and esprit of any previous war.

Lest anyone forget, we served our time in hell—and some of us will carry proof of that service with us the rest of our lives.

Let's set the record straight, however. In ten months of Vietnam duty as an adviser to South Vietnamese units I did not and do not now use drugs; I found the majority of the South Vietnamese people friendly and appreciative of my presence; I committed no war crimes; I am neither for nor against the war in its entirety.

I feel that I served with dignity and honor, and as long as there is a breath left in me, I will defend my right and the right of Vietnam veterans to be human beings with that same dignity and honor.

John Kerry, Jerry Mueller, John O'Neill, Mr. News Commentator and others, I resent your attempting to speak for me and the image you are portraying of me. I resent being used as a pawn in your political arena—or anybody else's. I find demonstrations in violation of the law offensive.

I find your actions and rhetoric divisive and conducive to polarization and prejudging of Vietnam veterans—this trend, if allowed to continue, I consider to be detrimental to the Vietnam veteran now and over the long haul. I firmly contend that each man must stand for what he believes—and I defend that right—but to coin a phrase: "Speak for thyself, John." Stop speaking for me.

I have been medically retired from the service since July 1968. Since that time, I have been in industry doing personnel work. Before I left the Army, I served as assistant to the commanding general of the Army Physical Disability Agency, traveling to all major Army Hospitals in the continental United States and talking to the men on the wards.

I have been close to the subject for five years now, and have watched the image change—I have seen hope turn to despair, pride turn to confusion and despair and confusion turn to utter helplessness.

I have been asked, "How does it feel to be a murderer" and have heard the comment, "Check him for drugs—he's a Vietnam vet."

I ask you, is it necessary that I agree with your viewpoint to be accepted as a veteran of this nation; must the words Vietnam veteran paint a picture in the minds of some people—not all—of what I am, what I feel. I think not! Just as there are complexities amongst the veterans of that war.

So I say to all Americans—do not group, polarize or prejudice us. Each of us has our own thoughts, views, and experiences and if given the opportunity will relate them—but give us that right and above all let us maintain our dignity. Let us prove ourselves to you as men, as human beings, as individuals.

THE NIXON PROGRAM FOR HOUSING

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I commend to the attention of my colleagues an article from the July issue of Mortgage Banker by Mr. Eugene S. Cowen, Special Assistant to the President. As Mr. Cowen points out in his article:

The Nixon Administration has consistently viewed low- and moderate-income housing as a top priority budgetary item and has striven to translate into bricks and mortar the promises contained in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

I ask unanimous consent that "The Nixon Program for Housing" be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NIXON PROGRAM FOR HOUSING

(By Eugene S. Cowen)

Shortly after Richard Nixon was sworn in as President, he was flying over Washington in a helicopter. As the chopper passed over the Mall, the grassy expanse between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial, he spotted a long row of old temporary structures, the Navy and Munitions Buildings.

They were built during World War I and have stood moldering in full view of a half century of tourists who have visited the nation's capital. The President knew the buildings well because he was stationed there briefly when he was a lieutenant, junior grade, after World War II, and he didn't think much of them then.

So he directed that the "tempcos" be taken down as soon as possible. A White House memorandum went out to the friendly proprietors of the Navy and Munitions Build-

ings, advising them that the commander-in-Chief would like them, please, to get their structures off the public's grass.

That set off a heated debate within the federal establishment, the military arguing protempo and the civilians a swerving anti-tempo. It reached its height when the Navy cleverly invited a presidential assistant to the Army-Navy game and assigned an Admiral to lobby him all the way from Washington to Philadelphia.

But the White House persisted and the buildings were removed—a year after the President asked them to come down.

Now, if it takes that long to tear something down, isn't it harder yet to build something up? Yes. But we persist. Persistence has paid off with our housing programs.

During the past two and a half years, the Nixon Administration has taken vigorous steps to stimulate housing production and has achieved record levels of output for low- and moderate-income families.

Housing requires financing. As you are aware, housing production is highly sensitive to changing monetary conditions. The corporate borrower is first in line at the credit window, while the home purchaser is usually at the end of the line. During tight money periods, housing starts usually drop very sharply. During the money crunch of 1966, private housing starts declined to about 900,000 units in the last quarter of that year. During the most recent tight money period, however, housing production was better maintained despite very high interest rates.

In no quarter of 1969-70 did private housing starts average less than 1.25 million units. The annual rate of housing starts was 1.4 million units in 1970, compared to 1.2 million in 1966. Housing starts have recovered sharply, and the 1971 total will probably be about 1.9 million units.

The dramatic turnaround is a response to a variety of Nixon Administration policies. One is the overall economic push that is reflected in lower interest rates. The other is the massive federal effort to maintain the flow of credit into housing; and the third is the shift that put a larger proportion of housing resources into help for low- and moderate-income families.

SUBSIDIZED HOUSING

During 1970, 433,000 housing starts were subsidized by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Farmer's Home Administration. This represented almost 30 percent of total housing starts. As recently as 1968, assisted housing units amounted to scarcely more than 10 percent of total housing starts.

Much of the increase in housing units has occurred in Section 235 and Section 236 programs. Through deep subsidization of mortgage interest costs, these programs reduce monthly payments to a level within reach of moderate-income families. Under the Section 235 program alone, about 116,000 units were started in 1970 and almost 200,000 units are likely to be started in 1971. For lower-income families, public housing and the rent supplement program continue to play a major role.

Who is helped by these programs? Under Section 235, the typical purchaser of a new house is a family of five usually headed by both a husband and wife. Almost all of their income is from wages and salaries, and very little from welfare assistance. The head of this family is usually about 30 years old.

Under this program, the purchaser pays, on the average, under \$18,000 for his own house. The annual family income is \$6,189. That strikes a point below the income needed to live reasonably well in a city, but above the income levels of the typical family in public housing.

The housing needs of low- and moderate-income older people are met through two programs: Section 236 rental and public

July 14, 1971

housing. Construction was started on about 50,000 units specifically designed for senior citizens under these two programs in 1970.

Further improvements in our federally-assisted programs are possible. Note how fast and effectively HUD Secretary George Romney acted to correct several deficiencies uncovered in the Section 235 program. However, we presently have a mix of programs that is making a substantial contribution to the housing needs of the full range of low- and moderate-income households, and racial composition. The Nixon Administration has consistently viewed low- and moderate-income housing as a top priority budgetary item and has striven to translate into bricks and mortar the promises contained in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

RUNAWAY COSTS

But what good are these programs if runaway costs price the average American out of the new housing market? Federally-assisted programs are not blank checks, to underwrite such rising construction costs. Moreover, advancing costs would eventually defeat our efforts to increase housing production.

The Administration has approached this problem from several directions at once. We have put great emphasis on new housing technology under Operation Breakthrough in order to lower costs and develop mass production approaches to housing. We have encouraged mobile homes, where suitable, and now eligible for financing under FHA and VA programs. More recently, we have instituted a program to curb rising construction costs. Construction unions and industrial contractors have agreed to a reform of work rules aimed at eliminating excessive overtime pay, featherbedding, and permitting the unrestricted use of all trade tools and equipment. We hope that these reforms will be implemented at the local level.

President Nixon has instituted a cooperative system of wage-price "constraints" in the construction industry, designed to maintain negotiated annual wage increases. Labor-management boards will review collective bargaining agreements in each of the construction crafts. A government committee will also establish criteria for price increases and management compensation.

If persistence pays off in getting "tempos" off the grass and encouraging housing construction, it is also the driving force behind this Administration's determination to streamline the federal government, turning some of the control back to states and local communities.

Revenue sharing, general and special, is the name President Nixon has given to his plan to turn some \$10 billion over to the states and local communities. It is based on the philosophy that it is the people's tax money to begin with, and the more direct control the people have in its disbursement the better it will be spent.

We believe that the federal government should do what it can do best, and that state and local governments should be strengthened by providing them with the money to run their programs in a way to best meet their varying needs. Your reason for subscribing to this philosophy should be guided by the fact that the last time the state legislatures met, more than four-fifths of them were asked by their governors for more taxes.

Revenue sharing, however, has a special significance to those who build or finance housing because it takes more than a group of houses to make a community. It takes water and sewer lines, schools, libraries, and a whole host of other services which are provided mostly by state and local governments. Revenue sharing will give you a greater say in how these services can be better provided for your communities.

THE DIFFERENCE

Finally, the President wants to reorganize the government, and it is not something that originated in a helicopter flight.

When Richard Nixon was a lieutenant, junior grade, Washington was a very different Capital. The President then had nine cabinet departments. He now has 12. The then 27 independent federal agencies are now 41. A \$42 billion federal budget has now grown to \$220 billion. Then there were 140 domestic programs, now 1,400. And add some 600,000 federal employees.

So this President wants to streamline the government, cut down the number of federal departments, and reduce the number of federal employees—so that it and they do a better job for you. Now, this is not a new idea. It has—in various forms—been recommended by Presidential commissions throughout this century.

Nor is it a new problem facing this President. When Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* interviewed President Calvin Coolidge, he asked, "Mr. President, how many people work for you in the White House?" Mr. Coolidge replied: "About half of them." The difference is, we persist.

DON'T TIE THE CHIEF'S HANDS

MR. SCOTT. Mr. President, the July 12 edition of the *Washington Star* carried an excellent column by David Lawrence. It is entitled, "Don't Tie the Chief's Hands." Mr. President, a review of this column leads me to make but one comment: "These are words to the wise." I trust we are wise men. I ask unanimous consent that this column be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DON'T TIE THE CHIEF'S HANDS

(By David Lawrence)

A President's conduct of foreign policy is under greater strain than it has ever been before. Members of Congress are questioning the right of an administration to carry on important negotiations without publicizing them.

But to demand that Congress be kept informed in advance or that even congressional committees be advised of diplomatic contacts which are within executive jurisdiction could mean a leakage to the press and an impairment of international progress. Experience shows that some of the confidential material filed within committees of Congress is given to the news media here. It is then exploited by the press abroad.

The government knows full well, for instance, that "foreign aid" is a vital factor in winning the alliance of the smaller nations which may hitherto have been depending on either Red China or the Soviet Union for help. If a law is adopted by Congress requiring a President to publicize beforehand his intention to give assistance to certain countries, would this be a step that could help or hurt the chances of America gaining allies?

Present statutes permit a President to make financial aid commitments to a foreign country without revealing it to the Congress or to the people until 30 days after the action has been taken. It now is being proposed that a Chief Executive notify Congress 30 days before he shifts foreign-aid money from one country to another.

Many of these matters are subjects of secret diplomacy. They can be handled best by allowing a President to render financial aid without making his plans public until after the project is well under way. There are plenty of trouble spots in the world caused by economic weakness. This is one of the

reasons why the United States is willing to extend financial assistance where it is needed.

American efforts to avoid involvement in military operations are known everywhere. The help we have provided to Mideast countries, for example, has been designed to remove any idea that the United States is hostile to the nations in the area.

The Mideast situation is one of the biggest worries at the moment for the President and his secretary of state. Fortunately, the Egyptian government appears to be in a negotiating mood. Also, the Israelis are aware of the primary objective in the plans being proposed by the United States for that region—how to reopen the Suez Canal and assure the leaders at Tel Aviv that a complete or partial withdrawal from territory occupied since 1967 will not have to be made without reciprocal benefits.

Meanwhile, American military units are needed to support possible action under the North Atlantic Treaty and a sizable fleet in the Mediterranean is to be maintained. This necessitates some bases and friendly relations with countries on the Mediterranean and those bordering on South Pacific waters.

One has to study the potential military strategy of the United States in order to understand the reason why certain countries are on the list of financial aid from America. It would cause many problems if Congress had to grant its consent and publicity was given to the intended plan before the State Department could provide economic aid urgently required by a country which would prefer that the event be kept secret for awhile.

What is at stake in all the efforts to interfere with the operations of the executive branch in its handling of foreign affairs is the possibility that the United States would be unable to act promptly in dealing with governments in different parts of the world, and that the Communists would take advantage of this handicap.

There has been a lot of talk on Capitol Hill about attempts to block the making of "commitments." What this really means is that the State Department would not be able to record any promises in its negotiations with other nations or give indications to any country of the advantages which might follow support for the American position in controversies that may arise.

A commitment of unusual expense is, of course, reported to Congress when the money is sought through the appropriations committees. But the scheme to make the executive branch disclose all its financial-aid plans before such arrangements are made with other countries would deprive the State Department of one of its most important powers of negotiation in the handling of foreign policy.

CLARENCE MITCHELL, JR., BLACK AMERICA'S LOBBYIST IN WASHINGTON

MR. SCOTT. Mr. President, Clarence Mitchell, Jr., has developed a reputation for being a man who treats people equally and fairly—an important quality in a man considered by many to be black America's lobbyist in Washington. As chief legislative spokesman for the NAACP, Mitchell has continually expressed his strong belief in the rule of law affecting all people equally. He says of himself:

I am a man who seeks just law. I am a man who seeks the kind of order that makes freedom grow instead of stifling.

These facts and many more pointing out the courage and insight of Clarence

Facts Surface on the Heroin War

By Flora Lewis

AT LAST the facts of the heroin war in Indochina are trickling out. Many officials, and others, have been aware of them for a long time. But the officials weren't very interested, and secrecy about the war in Laos and American clandestine operations made it extra hard for others' to pinpoint the route of heroin from the mountaintop poppy fields of Southeast Asia to American blood-streams.

The CIA, which has prime responsibility for the Laotian war, long denied any knowledge of the drug traffic. Now it has provided Congress, through the Bureau of Narcotics, with a report naming the sites of heroin refineries in Burma, Thailand and Laos. Further, the public report says that "a senior Laotian officer may hold an ownership interest in some of these facilities." The officer, named elsewhere, is Gen. Ouane Rathikone, chief of staff of the Laotian army, which exists entirely on U.S. subsidy. Army units provide a "military defense perimeter" to guard the refineries.

The report also confirms for the first time on the record that Laotian air force planes and Laotian and South Vietnamese commercial planes take the drugs on to markets, both the GI market in South Vietnam and international centers which ship to Europe and the United States. It does not mention Air America, the CIA-operated airline in Laos and Vietnam. But there have long been numerous reports that Air America's secret flights supporting the Laotian war also often transport opium.

Rep. Robert Steele of Connecticut, an ex-CIA man himself, has named Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu who commands South Vietnam's Second Military region as one large-scale organizer of the traffic.

THE opium, from which heroin is refined, is grown chiefly by Meo tribesmen who live in what is called the "golden triangle" area of western Burma, northern Thailand and Laos. The CIA organized the Meo of Laos into the Armee Clandestine and has accepted responsibility for large numbers of them.

Although it normally denied having any awareness or interest in the drug trade, from time to time the CIA claimed progress in persuading the Meo under its influence to switch to food crops. Its own report now says that "in areas (in Laos) where the tribesmen have been encouraged to grow corn, the poppies are planted among the corn. When the corn is cut the poppies continue to grow until they too can be harvested."

Vice Adm. William C. Mack, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower,

has testified that the only thing that "will save our men" from the tremendous drug problem in Vietnam is troop withdrawal. But the supply routes are organized now. The high-ranking officials, and by no means all the highest have as yet been named, still have U.S. support and every prospect that support will continue after most troops have gone. So the heroin can be expected to follow the GIs home, a continuing souvenir of the war.

TWO developments have begun to bring into the open the relation of heroin and the war. One is the huge increase in GI use in the past two years, while the military were assiduously fighting marijuana and virtually ignoring the opium-heroin trade. The other is mounting public revulsion as each piece of news appears here.

But the situation isn't very new. Capt. Robert Marasco, the former Green Beret who was accused of killing a double agent, tells of camping on the Cambodian border in the Parrot's Beak sector in 1969. "There was a big market field there; people went back and forth as though there were no border. The price of heroin was astonishing; for \$25 you could get what sells for \$500,000 in the United States," he told me. "It was being bought by South Vietnamese soldiers, obviously flunkies for the higher-ups."

On another occasion, he trailed 30 pounds of pure opium brought down the Ho Chi Minh Trail by Pathet Lao Communists along with medical supplies and found they were sold to South Vietnamese military and sent on to Saigon. "I didn't pay much attention," Marasco says; "that wasn't our concern."

It is time, late but not too late, for American intelligence which does know quite a lot about the drug traffic to make it their concern. It is time to stop defoliating Vietnamese fields and start defoliating poppy fields. It is time to stop subsidizing high Asian officials who use American support to deal in drugs with impunity.

John Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics, has written Congress that "It is probable that opium production in Southeast Asia will be brought under effective control only with further political development in these countries."

If that means that the United States can't successfully fight heroin and Vietnamese Communists at the same time because too many allies are on the side of heroin, it shouldn't be hard to choose the worst enemy. There can be no national defense even on this continent if the invasion of drugs is not stopped.

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Drug file

Two army majors are standing at a ferry landing on the east bank of the Ganges River. One is a frogman, the other one served in the camel corps. Both seem to be civilized and charming men. They explain that they are fighting a patriotic war to defend the integrity of their country against Indian agents, miscreants and misguided individuals. "We saw atrocities that made our blood boil. Had you seen them, even you would have wanted to kill," he says of a town where some Biharis were butchered by Bengalis. (The town was later leveled by the army and a far greater number of Bengalis were killed.)

FOOD FOR THE CROCODILES

The majors are asked why so many Bengalis have fled, particularly Hindus. The answer is imaginative. They say that in April, before the army restored order, Hindus told Moslems that the "holy Koran is just an old book. So the Moslems came out of their homes to defend the holy Koran and many Hindus fled." There has been much killing, the camel-corps major grants. "The crocodiles have gotten fat," says the frogman, glancing out at the Ganges.

But all is returning to normal, they say, and the Bengali people aren't afraid of the army. A ferry is landing, and a group of Bengali laborers, recruited by the army to reopen a jute mill, edges past the majors in single file. Each of them bows his head in a subservient salute as he passes the officers.

Not all army officers are as sympathetic as these majors. Western residents of one town tell of an army captain approaching a young Hindu girl and telling her to feel the barrel of his gun. "You feel it is still warm," he said. "From killing Hindus," he added, laughing—but not joking.

An old Bihari who served as a bearer in the British Indian army many years ago is now a waiter at a roadside hostel on the outskirts of a town more than half destroyed. He supports the army and thus isn't afraid to talk. He explains that for several April days, after the Awami League people fled but before the army arrived, things were bad for the Biharis. Mobs of Bengalis ran through the streets shouting (and he lapses into his old Indian-army English), "Kill the Bihari buggers, burn the Bihari buggers." Some Biharis were killed, he says, but most weren't. Then the army arrived. "The army kill many Bengali buggers," he says. "And the Hindu buggers, they run away to India. It is very bad days, Sahib."

A Hindu, one of the richest and most respected men in his community before the fighting, was a philanthropist who had built schools, hospitals and irrigation systems for the predominantly Moslem peasants in his area. He considered himself fully Pakistani. Although a Bengali, he hadn't backed the Awami League but rather had supported the more conservative and even anti-Hindu Moslem League.

THE HUNTER BECOMES THE HUNTED

For nearly a month after the civil war began but before the army arrived in his area (and thus during the period Biharis were in danger from Bengalis), the Hindu sheltered two Biharis in his home. When mobs came looking for him, he protected them. But, with the arrival of the army, roles reversed, and Bengalis—particularly Hindu Bengalis—became the hunted.

Hindu villages were burned by the army, and mobs were encouraged to plunder Hindu homes. Under army orders the local Hindu temple was smashed to the ground by men wielding sledgehammers.

The Hindu and his family fled to the village hut of a friend, where they have been hiding for more than two months. His first daylight emergence from this hiding place was for a rendezvous with two reporters. He walked across the rice paddies in the late afternoon, dressed as a peasant and shielding his face with a black umbrella.

He hadn't fled to India like so many other Hindus because he hoped the army would move on and life might somehow return to what it had been before. But the army remains, Hindus are still being searched out and shot, and now it is too risky to try to reach the border from this area.

Only a few close friends know his hiding place. One of them is a Moslem League official, an influential man these days since many Moslem Leaguers are supporting the army. "He knows where I am hiding, but he dare not help me," the Hindu says. He believes that nearly all Moslem Bengalis sympathize with the Hindus. "But what can they do? They, too, are in danger and they are afraid."

All the Hindu's property is on an army list of "alien properties." In other areas it is called "enemy properties," but in either case it is scheduled to be confiscated and put up for auction. The Hindu talks much about losing his property—but the greater danger is losing his life.

"My Moslem friends tell me that Hindu bodies taken from the river are so disfigured from tortures that the faces cannot be identified," the Hindu says before picking up his umbrella and heading back across the fields to his hiding place.

A HEADMASTER RECITES HIS LESSON

The travelers visit a town near the Indian border. One of the last towns to be retaken by the army, it is heavily damaged and is still largely deserted. Here the local peace committee—a unit composed of some Biharis and conservative Bengali Moslem Leaguers who serve as the local eyes and ears of the army—assigns two youths to guide and shadow the visitors. "Come to the school and talk to the headmaster," they say.

The headmaster, a middle-aged Bengali, sits behind his desk. The reporters sit facing him. And standing behind the reporters, also facing the headmaster, are the young peace-committee shadows. In a faltering voice the headmaster begins to recite statistics of school enrollment, dates when schoolhouse cornerstones were laid—anything uncontroversial. At the end of each sentence he glances up, past the reporters, to the shadows like a schoolboy reciting his lessons to a teacher with a stick.

How was the school damaged? the reporters ask. "There was some strafing," he mumbles. Then, looking up at the teen-age shadows, he hurriedly adds, "and maybe it was damaged by miscreants."

As the reporters and their shadows leave, the professor mumbles, "We are trying to hold together," and then he stares down at the ground.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the order previously entered, there will be a period for the transaction of routine morning business for not to exceed 30 minutes, with a limitation therein of 3 minutes for each Senator.

GI'S AND HEROIN

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Washington Post this morning under the title "GI's and Heroin: the Facts of Life," contains a most interesting and chilling commentary by Flora Lewis, who has been doing outstanding reporting on the growth of the hard drug menace, especially as it affects our situation in Southeast Asia and at home.

After reading certain excerpts from the commentary, I will ask to have it printed in the Record.

The article states:

Now, according to Parker, practically all the heroin refineries have been resituated along the Mekong River, in Burma, Thailand and Laos, and "almost all have been identified."

If so, why hasn't the United States, which completely subsidizes and virtually runs Laos and has poured billions into Thailand, whose "volunteer soldiers" it employs in Vietnam and Laos, made sure the heroin factories were destroyed?

Further on, it is stated:

It is at once a simple and excruciatingly tough answer. As he finally pointed out, it is a matter of political decision in Washington. There is a choice to make. It would be easy to blow up the refineries, devastate most of the poppy fields, push the governments involved into cracking down on their own high-level military and civilian profiteers and blocking the supply of heroin to GIs in Vietnam and, increasingly, to the United States.

But it would be a severe embarrassment to allies in Southeast Asia. It would hinder the prosecution of the war in Indochina, perhaps so seriously that basic U.S. policy would have to be changed.

There have been some changes in the past year, but they have followed a pattern of seeking compromise with the drug-producing countries, not confrontation.

The CIA has changed its rules in an effort to stop the use of its private airline, Air America, for the transport of drugs in Laos.

The U.S. Embassy in Laos has pressed the government there to put through a strict law on drugs which may be passed this month. There was none before.

The U.S. Embassy in Saigon got the Vietnamese government to remove some of the corrupt customs officials, and similar efforts are being made in Thailand. With Congress vociferously taking up the issue, the White House is cracking the whip on all the assorted American officials who thought drug traffic was not their concern, who thought their job was only fighting the war, gathering intelligence, maintaining foreign relations.

Again quoting, the article states:

Now the Turks have promised to wipe out opium production after the 1972 crop, which means that in three or four years that source of supply will dry up. Parker is convinced now that the Turks can and will enforce the ban. But ask him how much difference it will make in the amount of heroin supplied to Americans.

"If nothing else is done," he says flatly, "no difference." And the "something else" can only be done in Washington, a decision to be just as tough in Southeast Asia as the Nixon administration was in Turkey.

Meanwhile, the inch-high stacks of 96 to 98 per cent pure heroin distributed in South Vietnam have begun to turn up in the United States. The bureau foresees an almost uncontrollable flood as veterans return, find themselves without jobs and realize how much money can be made by having buddies or friends send them supplies from the Far East.

Addicts can be treated, but there isn't much likelihood that there won't be far more new ones than cures each day unless the flow of heroin is cut at the source. At the Bureau of Narcotics, experts are convinced that is possible, except perhaps for a minimal trickle, but there is no sign it is going to happen. The hard political decision hasn't been taken.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A vehicle with UNICEF marking on its doors but with armed West Pakistani soldiers inside cruises by. Otherwise, the street is all but deserted.

The doctor sits in his office only because he has been ordered to. His family is hiding in a village somewhere outside of town. He speaks in a whisper because any passerby could be an informer. At night, when the army goes knocking on doors, he lives with the fear that his name may be on one of its lists.

He whispers of recent events in this town: the streets littered with bloated and decomposing bodies; the burning, looting and raping; and the continuing terror. "We are afraid to speak the truth. Those who speak the truth are punished, and the only punishment is death," he says.

The doctor is an army veteran, which makes him a special target for his former colleagues. But his real crime is being a Bengali in a land of Bengalis that also happens to be part of the map of Pakistan. It is now a land of death and of fear.

CAUSES WASHED AWAY BY BLOOD

It is less than four months since the civil fighting in East Pakistan began, but already the causes of the conflict seem almost academic. Its geographical and historical roots, the legalities and moralities—all seem to have been washed away by blood. No one really knows how many people have been killed in East Pakistan since March 25, but Western diplomats say the minimum is 200,000. The maximum exceeds one million.

The events fall into three stages.

The first was a Bengali political movement aimed at ending two decades of economic and political exploitation by the West Pakistanis. It culminated, in March elections, in national political victory for the Bengali Awami League and its platform of greater East Pakistan autonomy. But on March 25 the Pakistan army (an almost entirely West Pakistani institution), fearing that East Pakistan was moving toward independence, cracked down in Dacca, the East Pakistan capital. Bengali students were massacred, politicians were arrested and the Awami League was outlawed.

The second stage was a fairy-tale few weeks in which the Bengalis proclaimed and celebrated their independence. Some thousands of East Pakistan's non-Bengali minority were killed during this period, in which the army, perhaps overly cautious, remained in the capital and in a number of military camps. But the illusion of independence ended in mid-April when the army emerged to crush the revolution. Tens of thousands of Bengalis were slain as town after town was retaken, burned and looted. There was little military opposition. Some six million Bengalis, most of them from the Hindu minority group that became a special army target, began fleeing into India.

NOW THE THIRD STAGE

The third and present stage is army occupation—a terrorized Bengali population being ruled by military force and crude police-state tactics. West Pakistani officials say everything is rapidly returning to normal. But the economy is woefully disrupted, factories are idle, schools are closed, roads are mostly empty and towns are largely deserted. Millions of Bengalis, particularly Hindus and middle-class Moslems, are still hiding in the countryside. About 50,000 refugees are still fleeing to India each day. And army rule is being challenged by Bengali guerrilla forces (the Mukti Bahani, or Liberation Army) that seem to have massive support among the Bengali population. The guerrillas are still lacking in training and organization, but supplies and border sanctuaries are being provided by India.

Ten days of traveling across East Pakistan and talks with scores of diverse people here

indicate that the fourth stage eventually will be an independent East Pakistan: Bangla Desh, or Bengal Nation. But clearly much more killing will take place before Bangla Desh comes to pass.

No solution, including independence, holds any bright hopes for East Pakistan's predominantly peasant society, which, in accordance with the Mohammed's Prophet instruction to "go forth and multiply," is propagating itself into starvation. Its 75 million people already are barely subsisting 1,600 to the square mile, and this population will double within 25 years. A half-million Bengalis were killed by a cyclone last fall. A half-million more were born in 87 days. Perhaps only in East Pakistan could a disaster of the cyclone's magnitude be overshadowed by a greater one—this civil war—only six months later.

PRIMITIVE CONCEPTIONS OF GUILT

Poverty, ignorance and frustration have turned this conflict into a Congo as well as an Algeria. Men are killing each other not only in the name of politics but also over race and religion. The Moslem philosophy of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is made more terrible by primitive conceptions of collective guilt.

The army kills Bengalis. The non-Bengali minority of about two million (commonly called Biharis) back the army. So Bengalis kill Biharis. The army and the Biharis see this as ample reason to butcher more Bengalis. The Hindu minority of about 10 million becomes a convenient army scapegoat and even some Bengali Moslems can be persuaded to join in their slaughter. Amid this chaos, various villages, gangs and individuals have been attacking each other for economic gain or to settle private scores.

These are the tales of some of the people encountered on a trip through East Pakistan. As with the doctor, the names of Bengalis and the towns in which they live are omitted. Bengalis, in talking to a reporter, fear for their lives. Most don't talk at all; in some towns not even beggars will approach a stranger. Normally among the world's most voluble people, the Bengalis now talk mostly with their eyes—eyes that look away in fear or that stare down in shame or that try to express meanings in furtive glances.

A lawyer and his sons have been fortunate. When one asks a Bengali how he is these days, he replies, "I am alive." The lawyer and his sons not only are alive but are living in their own home. They are also hiding in their own home, for they leave it only rarely. "It is too easy to be arrested on the street," the lawyer says. "A seven-year-old can point a finger at me and call me a miscreant, and I will be taken away."

Miscreant is the term the Pakistan army applies to all who oppose it. "All Bengalis are miscreants now," the lawyer's younger son says. He is a law student, but students are a special army target, and most are in hiding. The universities are closed. "What use would there be learning law anyway now that there is no law in our country?" the son asks.

It is evening, and the discussion is taking place in the lawyer's home. Before talking, he closes the wooden shutters on the windows. Then he has second thoughts—"someone who passes by may report a conspiracy"—and so the shutters are partly reopened.

They talk of "the troubles," of how, when word of the army's March 25 attack in Dacca reached this town, the Awami League took control. There was orderly rule under the Bangla Desh flag until mid-April, when air-force planes strafed the town. People panicked. The Awami Leaguers and their military force, the Mukti Bahani, began to flee along with thousands of others. But it was several days before the army reached the town, and during that time angry Bengali mobs attacked and slaughtered hundreds of Biharis.

Relative to its actions elsewhere, the army when it arrived, showed restraint. Most of the town remains undamaged, although much of it was looted by the army and its mobs. About half the population has returned and many shops have reopened, though not under former management. Hindu shopkeepers have disappeared, and Biharis and other army backers have taken over. And, as everywhere, the arrests continue.

Four Christian Bengalis are arrested by the army at a roadblock. Not many buses travel East Pakistan's roads these days, and those that do are frequently stopped, and their passengers are lined up and searched. Few of the soldiers at these checkpoints speak any Bengali (Urdu is the language of West Pakistan), and so a common way of finding "miscreants" is to lift men's sarongs. Moslems are circumcised; Hindus aren't. Some West Pakistani soldiers came to East Pakistan thinking all Bengalis were Hindu. More sophisticated soldiers simply think that all Hindus are "miscreants," but then so are many Bengali Moslems. So it is all very confusing for the soldiers, and the four Christians are arrested.

FOR CHRISTIANS, NO BEATINGS

They are taken to a military cantonment and beaten for several hours by interrogators who don't speak their language. A Westerner hears of their arrest and protests. So the matter comes to the attention of an army major, who summons the four Christians and offers apologies: "It is our policy not to beat Christians," he explains.

A shopkeeper, a thin Bengali with wire-rimmed spectacles, glances out from his shop at two strangers walking down the deserted street. They enter the shop and inquire about "the troubles" in this town. The shopkeeper is visibly trembling. "There is nothing I can say," he replies. Then he glances again at the flattened buildings lining the main street and whispers, "Look around you." As the visitors leave, he adds, voice cracking, "I'm ashamed I cannot. . . ."

Further down the street a youth approaches. "The army destroyed our city. Many Bengalis are being arrested. They are being shot every night and thrown into the river. We no longer eat the fish from the river," he whispers.

The youth guides the strangers to the local hospital to talk to a surgeon. The surgeon is a Bengali but is employed by the government, which means he is particularly vulnerable. He is asked about killing in the city. "Killing? What killing? Killing by whom?" He is asked about general problems. "Problems?" What problems? There are no problems.

ELABORATING THE OBVIOUS

The visitors take their leave. Outside the hospital the youth whispers: "You have talked to the doctor, but I think he has concealed the truth. He is afraid." It is explaining the obvious.

A professor and his student are talking about the prospects of students returning to classes in early August, when the university is supposed to reopen. They are pessimistic. Some students are hiding in their homes, others have fled to outlying villages or to India. Some have joined the Mukti Bahani. The campus has been turned into a military camp, and troops are quartered in the dormitories, using books to fuel their cooking fires. "Would you come back?" the professor asks.

The student, a girl, has a room in a house that overlooks an army interrogation center. "All day the students, young boys, are brought in and beaten," she says. "Three soldiers walk on them with boots. All night we hear the screams. I cannot sleep. We cannot stand to see and hear these things."

"Our army had a good reputation," the professor says. "We had a great army. But look what it has done. How can an army be great when it fights in an immoral cause?"

July 23, 1971

S 11917

GHS AND HEROIN: THE FACTS OF LIFE
(By Flora Lewis)

John W. Parker, director of strategic intelligence in the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, knows a good deal about Southeast Asia's contribution to the dope problem. And while he is a soft-spoken Southerner, sometimes so quiet one has to strain to hear him, he is the most straightforward man I have yet found on the subject in the administration.

He starts with an explanation. Remember, he says, that until 1970 we were concentrating on the drug problem here in the United States. Not too much attention was paid by the bureau to the source of supplies. And the Army, the CIA, the State Department, the people out there where the heroin comes from weren't concerned about drugs. They were concentrating on other problems.

Further, while there has been opium in Southeast Asia since the British introduced it in the early 19th century, until 1970 the heroin refineries in the area were all in Thailand and Hong Kong, Parker says. It didn't seem to affect the United States.

In fact, the dominant government attitude was that this was a fact of life in Asia which Americans shouldn't try to upset, especially since by the beginning of the decade so many Americans were so deeply engaged in trying to control other facts of Southeast Asia's life, namely the Vietnamese war and all its offshoots.

Now, according to Parker, practically all the heroin refineries have been resituated along the Mekong River, in Burma, Thailand and Laos, and "almost all have been identified."

If so, why hasn't the United States, which completely subsidizes and virtually runs Laos and has poured billions into Thailand, whose "volunteer soldiers" it employs in Vietnam and Laos, made sure the heroin factories were destroyed?

The obvious urgent question didn't annoy Parker. On the contrary, his stolid face slowly eased into a Cheshire cat grin. At first he didn't say anything. I suggested that the reason wasn't hard to guess and wasn't really secret.

"I know," he said. "I'm struggling not to say it."

It is at once a simple and excruciating tough answer. As he finally pointed out, it is a matter of political decision in Washington. There is a choice to make. It would be easy to blow up the refineries, defoliate most of the poppy fields, push the governments involved into cracking down on their own high-level military and civilian profiteers and blocking the supply of heroin to GHS in Vietnam and, increasingly, to the United States.

But it would be a severe embarrassment to allies in Southeast Asia. It would hinder the prosecution of the war in Indochina, perhaps so seriously that basic U.S. policy would have to be changed.

There have been some changes in the past year, but they have followed a pattern of seeking compromise with the drug-producing countries, not confrontation.

The CIA has changed its rules in an effort to stop the use of its private airline, Air America, for the transport of drugs in Laos. Although only two months ago CIA Director Richard Helms adamantly denied there had ever been any agency involvement in the traffic, he is now said to have told a secret congressional hearing that there was involvement but it has been stopped in the past year.

The U.S. Embassy in Laos has pressed the government there to put through a strict law on drugs which may be passed this month. There was none before.

The U.S. Embassy in Saigon got the Vietnamese government to remove some of the corrupt customs officials, and similar efforts

are being made in Thailand. With Congress vociferously taking up the issue, the White House is cracking the whip on all the assorted American officials who thought drug traffic was not their concern, who thought their job was only fighting the war, gathering intelligence, maintaining foreign relations.

The question is whether these relatively gentle pressures will convince governments largely dependent on the United States that they must fight heroin. Years of argument got nowhere in Turkey, but a threat to cut off foreign aid finally did.

Now the Turks have promised to wipe out opium production after the 1972 crop, which means that in three or four years that source of supply will dry up. Parker is convinced now that the Turks can and will enforce the ban. But ask him how much difference it will make in the amount of heroin supplied to Americans.

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**EMERGENCY LOAN GUARANTEES—
ORDER FOR 1 HOUR OF DEBATE
UNDER RULE XXII TO BEGIN AT
2 P.M. ON MONDAY, JULY 26, 1971**

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the Daily Digest of the Record on page D743 states that the 1 hour of controlled debate on Monday prior to vote on the cloture motion in connection with S. 2308, emergency loan guarantees, will begin at 1 p.m. This is not in accord with the previous order as finally modified.

On page S11887 of the Record of yesterday it was originally agreed that the 1 hour of debate would begin at 1 p.m. But on the following page, S11888, that order was modified, so that the 1 hour under rule XXII, with respect to the cloture motion—which is expected to be filed today—will begin at 2 p.m. on Monday instead of 1 p.m. on Monday.

I state this so that Senators, their staff members, and the staff in the cloakroom may know that the Daily Digest is in error and that the 1 hour of debate under rule XXII will begin at 2 p.m. on Monday.

The mandatory quorum call will begin at 3 p.m. on Monday, and immediately after obtaining a quorum, the Senate will proceed to a yea-and-nay vote.

**ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT FROM
SATURDAY UNTIL NOON ON MONDAY,
JULY 26, 1971**

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at

the completion of its business tomorrow the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT FROM
MONDAY TO 10 A.M. ON TUESDAY,
JULY 27, 1971**

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business on Monday next, it stand in adjournment until 10 a.m. on Tuesday next.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

**ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR
HARTKE ON MONDAY NEXT**

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, immediately following the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, the distinguished Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**ORDER FOR PERIOD FOR TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING
BUSINESS ON MONDAY NEXT**

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, immediately following the conclusion of the remarks by the able Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, with statements therein limited to 5 minutes, the period not to exceed 30 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**ORDER TO CONSIDER S. 2308 AT
CLOSE OF ROUTINE MORNING
BUSINESS ON MONDAY NEXT**

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, at the close of routine morning business, the Chair lay before the Senate the pending business, S. 2308, a bill to authorize emergency loan guarantees to major business enterprises.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask

S 11918

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

July 23, 1971

unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there further morning business? If not, the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. WEICKER) is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. President, I have nothing in the way of morning business.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO 1972 BUDGET FOR COMMISSION ON HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION (S. Doc. No. 92-33)

A communication from the President of the United States transmitting an amendment to the budget for the fiscal year 1972 for the Commission on Highway Beautification (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Appropriations.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION REGARDING ACQUISITION OF LANDS

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior submitting proposed legislation to amend the Act of September 28, 1962, as amended, to release certain restrictions on acquisition of lands for recreational development at fish and wildlife areas administered by the Secretary of the Interior (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Commerce.

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

A letter from the Secretary of Labor transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the Work Incentive program (with accompanying report); to the Committee on Finance.

PETITIONS

Petitions were laid before the Senate and referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 77

"Memorializing Congress to enact legislation for the benefit of the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin

"Whereas, the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin, since termination from federal supervision in 1961, has diligently and faithfully made sincere efforts to carry out the mandate of the United States Congress to assume and absorb the responsibility for the control of tribal properties and service functions; and

"Whereas, the Menominee Indian Tribe, in compliance with the Menominee Termination Act and Wisconsin law, formed Menominee Enterprises, Inc., for the control and management of tribal assets and secured the necessary legislation from the Wisconsin legislature for the creation of Menominee County to establish an orderly system of local government; and

"Whereas, the rising costs of local government and the impending cutoff of federal aids will result in the diminution of assets and employment opportunities for the Menominee people and will pose an economic strain on Menominee Enterprises, Inc., which bears the major tax burden in Menominee County; and

"Whereas, termination has been shown to lead to social demoralization and economic

distress among the American Indian tribes as well as the Menominee people; and

"Whereas, President Nixon has stated the policy of the executive branch, as expressed on July 8, 1970, that termination is morally and legally unacceptable and discourages self-sufficiency among Indian groups and that any Indian group which decides to assume the control and responsibility for government service programs may still receive adequate federal financial support; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the senate, the assembly concurring, That the legislature urges the congress of the United States to enact legislation and repeal or amend such parts of the Menominee Termination Act (P.L. 83-399) as are necessary to accomplish the following goals for the benefit of the Menominee people:

"1. Reestablishment of service functions of the department of health, education and welfare to the Menominee people as a part of the regular responsibilities and service functions of the federal government the same as enjoyed by other Indian tribes.

"2. Repeal of any provisions of the Menominee Termination Act which exclude the Menominee people or tribe from health, education and welfare benefits under regular government appropriations and further repeal of any provisions of said act which are designed to abolish Menominee Indian tribal identity or which are in conflict with legislation proposed herein; and, be it further

"Resolved, That duly attested copies of this resolution be immediately transmitted to the President of the United States, to each member of the congressional delegation from Wisconsin, to the chairmen of the House and Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committees, to the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of the Senate of the United States and the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States."

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

S. 65. A bill for the relief of Dennis Yantos (Rept. No. 92-298);

S. Res. 46. A resolution to refer the bill (S. 634) entitled "A bill for the relief of Michael D. Manemann" to the Chief Commissioner of the Court of Claims for a report thereon (Rept. No. 92-299); and

S. 1939. A bill for the relief of the Southwest Metropolitan Water and Sanitation District, Colorado (Rept. No. 92-300).

By Mr. ALLEN, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, with an amendment:

S. 1139. A bill to amend the Federal Crop Insurance Act, as amended, so as to permit certain persons under 21 years of age to obtain insurance coverage under such act (Rept. No. 92-296).

By Mr. CURTIS, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, with amendments:

S. 1316. A bill to amend section 301 of the Federal Meat Inspection Act, as amended, so as to increase from 50 to 80 per centum the amount that may be paid as the Federal Government's share of the costs of any cooperative meat inspection program carried out by any State under such section (Rept. No. 92-297).

By Mr. CRANSTON, from the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, without amendment;

S. 2288. A bill to amend section 5055 of title 38, United States Code, in order to extend the authority of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to establish and carry out a program of exchange of medical information (Rept. No. 92-301).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,
The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. BYRD of West Virginia (for Mr. RANDOLPH), from the Committee on Public Works:

Maj. Gen. Charles Carmin Noble, Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army), for appointment as a member and president of the Mississippi River Commission.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. YOUNG (for Mr. MURK):

S. 2336. A bill for the relief of Col. Clayton H. Schmidt, U.S. Air Force. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STEVENSON:

S. 2337. A bill to incorporate Recovery, Inc. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANDERSON:

S. 2338. A bill relating to lands in the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District, N. Mex. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ANDERSON (for himself and Mr. MONTANA):

S. 2339. A bill to provide for the disposition of judgment funds on deposit to the credit of the Pueblo of Laguna in Indian Claims Commission Docket No. 227, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. CRANSTON (for himself and Mr. MONTANA):

S. 2340. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to create a rebuttable presumption that a disability of a veteran or any war or certain other military service is service-connected under certain circumstances. Referred to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. ANDERSON:

S. 2338. A bill relating to lands in the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District, N. Mex. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I am today introducing legislation of a technical nature in order to resolve a long-standing land ownership matter along the Rio Grande in central New Mexico. Briefly, the legislation would allow the Department of the Interior to sell to the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District, a political subdivision of the State of New Mexico, a number of small, scattered land tracts within the district. After this transaction, conducted as a matter of convenience, the conservancy district in turn would sell the individual tracts for a nominal amount to the particular landowners involved.

Since the formation of the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District in 1927, it was believed by all parties that the small plots of land were part of larger, privately owned tracts. The landowners paid property taxes to the State of New Mexico, and fees based on the acreage to the conservancy district. In some cases,